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AUTHOR	Friedrich, Paul
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ABSTRACT

The cardinal aim of this paper is to demonstrate interrelationships between patterns of social behavior and patterns of terminology. The author postulates that the terminology significantly symbolizes behavioral patterns and proceeds to examine the relationship of Russian kinship terminology and social structure in the context of a pre-industrial society. The article explores the underlying semantic structure in the terminological field and illustrates how social structure underlies the behavioral field. A description of the Russian extended household, courtship and wedding, a general structure of kinship terminology, and an inventory of affinal terms are included. (Author/RL)

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SEMANTIC STRUCTURE AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE: AN INSTANCE FROM RUSSIAN

Paul Friedrich

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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INTRODUCTION

Inference in cultural anthropology is founded on several sorts of evidence. These include nonlinguistic behavior, such as the choreography of a wedding dance, and the people's own ideas, as revealed in their statements about dance symbolism. Lexicography and semantic analysis—of the terminology associated with a wedding, for example—provide another factually based method for understanding culture patterns in a relatively responsible and undistorted fashion; ethnography is necessarily also descriptive semantics (Goodenough, 1957). For this reason anthropological linguistics and ethnography have always included semantic approaches, ranging from dictionaries of tribal languages to institutional analyses heavily based on lexical interpretations (Evans-Pritchard, 1956).

Some of the anthropologists explicitly engaged in descriptive semantics have been using the model of "componential analysis," which goes back to earlier attempts by linguists to state the invariant components of phonological and grammatical systems (Jakobson, 1936).[1] On the other hand, several equally rigorous studies of meaning—and some of the most illuminating—have not been expressly concerned with the methods of componential analysis at all (Eggan, 1950, pp. 17–139; Conklin, 1955). And there have been notable differences in the degree to which the investigator has carried through the analysis of actual lexical sets (Haugen, 1957) as against formulating methodological statements about simplified data and other people's conclusions.

But all of the recent explorations share two critical premises. First, vocabulary significantly reflects ways of categorizing experience in a given culture. In other words, a semantic structure underlies the overt material. Second, semantic structures share certain formal properties irrespective of the content or of the overall complexity of the culture in

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question. These premises and the first results of semantic analyses based upon them have been welcomed by some but have met with sustained skepticism in other quarters. Many social anthropologists, in particular, would judge as trivial both the formal semantic patterns inferred and the supposedly fruitful problem of correlating the patterns with social structure or with a "psychological reality."

It is my premise, on the contrary, that significant interrelationships, while neither perfect nor total, are widely present and highly systematic between the semantic structure underlying any fairly complex terminological field and the associated social structure underlying the behavioral field in any culture that has evolved with reasonable stability over two or more centuries. The semantic network symbolizes and is generated by the social network. Covariation between both networks is significant because it can lead to yet more general inferences about native concepts. My problem, then, is to integrate the psychologically directed semantics of Kroeber (1909) and Goodenough (1956) with the more sociological orientation of Rivers (1914) and Evans-Pritchard (1948), a synthesis to which the man being honored by this *Festschrift* would, I am sure, wholeheartedly subscribe.[2]

The following pages present a general introduction to the Russian household, an inventory of the affinal terms, and a summary of the terminological structure; the last exploits some of the potentials of the componential model but does not pretend to illustrate the full application of such a model. I conclude with a description of courtship and wedding, and a discussion of the covariation between particular sets of terms and the patterns of behavior associated with them. In its size and manifold implications the Russian kinship system of terms and of behavior is like that of many primitive societies.[3] Perhaps this is one reason why many observers during the past century intuitively sensed something "archaic" in the peasantry and Cossaks, and why writers such as Dostojevskyj (1876) and Tolstoj (1863) sometimes felt themselves confronted by a rich cosmos of human experience which they could only fathom in part. The present paper, based on a preliminary survey of the evidence, is an initial step toward doing justice to the kinship dimension of Russian life.

THE EXTENDED HOUSEHOLD

Much of European Russia was populated or repopulated in comparatively recent times, ranging from the cities founded in the Middle Ages to the vast forested expanses that were occupied after the fifteenth century. Individuals and communities displayed remarkable geographical mobility due to religious pilgrimage, wholesale deportations and resettle-

ments, pioneer expansion into the virgin lands, and patterns of labor migration that involved many male peasants. Population movement was facilitated by the tremendous network of navigable streams. Because of these demographic factors the 40 million Great Russians were still far more homogeneous in their dialects and their assumptions about kinship than any large West European people such as the French (Haxthausen, 1856, vol. 1, p. 225).

Russian society, it is true, was organized in occupationally defined, hereditary castes; serfdom had hardened during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and by the 1840s serfs constituted 55 per cent, free peasants 35 per cent, and the gentry less than 5 per cent of the population. Moreover, peasants were subject to a distinct, customary law (*obýchnoje právo*),[4] administered by the powerful peasant courts. But something of a common culture was maintained across these caste lines through concubinage, the influence of peasant nurses, the imitation of landlords by peasants, and other forms of mingling in the rustic hinterlands. The peasantry and the rural gentry closely resembled one another in their kinship terminology and family mores. It seems realistic, therefore, to reconstruct an overall Russian kinship system for the early nineteenth century, although the emphasis in what follows is on the peasantry.

The terminology here analyzed characterized the central and, above all, the north Russian dialects and cultures. The area of these dialects extended from the evergreen zone north of the Volga down to a line running from northwest to southeast so as to intersect a point about sixty miles below Moscow, forming a rough quadrilateral from 55° to 60° north latitude and 35° to 55° east longitude (minus the southeast corner). Northeastward from Moscow the proportion of free peasants and the degree of village communalism sharply increased, and the dominance of landlords decreased correspondingly. Most essentials of the Great Russian system were also found in outlying groups, such as the Siberian colonists and the Cossaks of the Don (Semenov, 1910, pp. 14, 149–155). The map (Figure 1) shows the distribution of the northern and central house types associated with extended families for the period from which come the affinal terminologies discussed below (Blomkvist, 1956, p. 165).

A continental climate prevailed in the flat or gently rolling Russian lands. The principal crops, fast-growing and cold-resistant, included flax, hemp, and the northern grains and fruits, particularly rye, oats, cherries, and apples. In this ecological setting, Russians became accustomed to toiling in family groups with great intensity—up to eighteen hours a day during the short harvests, the "time of suffering." In many northern regions groups of woodsmen were practicing slash-and-burn agriculture all through the nineteenth century. During winter the men rested or

occupied themselves with handicrafts, trapping, collecting honey and wax, and felling timber in the mighty forests; since early times the economies of Kiev and Moscow depended on the export of wax, lumber, and furs. Women, on the other hand, were often restricted to their households during the long, snow-swept months of cold, giving them ample time to work together at carding, spinning, and other domestic pursuits; each mother had to provide the clothes for herself and her children. In the fall and spring, groups of household mates or bilaterally related kinsmen fished with nets for the carp, pike, and many other fishes that abounded in the numerous streams and lakes; this was particularly true of the Cossaks, all of whom were identified with large rivers (Don, Ural, Kuban', etc.). The women and children, finally, worked as a group collecting the numerous berries and mushrooms that formed so important an element in the Russian diet and world view. Russia's location in the northern zone of pine, fir, spruce, and birch proved ecologically decisive in sharply channeling the economy and in favoring the development of large households for the exploitation of natural resources.

FIGURE 1.

The soil presented a very serious problem. Much of it was sandy clay or thin loam, often swampy or of poor quality from leaching. Though bread was the main staple, many villages could not actually feed themselves and were forced to import over half their cereal grains from the south. Accordingly, a premium was placed on the lighter forms of agriculture that could be carried out by women and boys. Dairying, raising hogs and fowl, and cultivating garden vegetables, particularly cabbages and potatoes, figured prominently in the central areas, so that the core of affinally incorporated women mattered more economically than would otherwise have been the case.

The distribution of dialects and of family, household, and village type roughly coincided with the geographical distribution of the forms of local

administration; communalistic villages of the *mir* or *óbshchina* variety ran from 85 to 98 per cent in the central and northern zones, and then gave way rapidly to individualistic landownership in the south and west as one approached the Ukraine and Belorussia (Kachorovskyj, 1909, pp. 64–80). The communes, generally situated along or near streams, ranged from about thirty persons in one to four households in the northeast to between seventy and three hundred or more persons in the central regions (living in fifteen to forty or more households). The generally reliable Haxthausen reports a sample average of one large household in Perm (the extreme northeast), to three in Tver' on the Upper Volga, to four and one-half in Suzdal' (central Muscovy), to ten in the south central province of Rjazan'. The smaller south central units could of course be more easily instituted and dissolved than the larger northern structures.

The principal responsibility of the *mir* council was to reallocate land every three to fifteen or more years, each household receiving a lot according to the number of male members. The right of the households to land derived from the right of the men to work, and their right derived in turn from their obligation to serve the Tsar. Households were taxed on the basis of the number of males to whom land had been allotted at the last repartition, irrespective of whether they had since died and become "dead souls." The incongruities of tax assessment, plus the poverty of the soil, often made the land itself a burden and labor the more valued good. Households adopted younger persons and frequently incorported stray widows and soldiers' wives, migrant workers, and the fragments of nuclear families. Thus extended households and house clusters, like the proprietors of serfs, had interests that led them to compete for work hands. The peasant, on the other hand, tended to identify with his household, his village, and Russia at large rather than with particular plots of earth. A thorny governmental problem was the frequent disappearance—sometimes almost overnight—of individuals, households, and even entire communes, into the virgin forest and steppe of the north and east.

The household was a joint enterprise in which the adult women divided up and rotated their household tasks. In many areas the poor soil, rising population, and rising taxes had led by the mid-nineteenth century to a rapid increase in the "home factories," with individual specialization of labor and with village specialization in such lines as flax textiles, dairy products, ironworks, and carpentry. Such factories typified the densely populated "industrial zones" of the Muscovite heartland. Elsewhere, men of the villages sold their skills as tailors or carpenters by traveling enormous routes covering hundreds of miles. Young men of the central

and northern regions often left home shortly after marriage and remained away much of the time until their middle thirties. In some northern villages more than 80 per cent of the men went south during the great harvests in the Ukraine and elsewhere, and in a large portion of Great Russia (probably the greater part), over 30 per cent of the *muzhikí* were absent at any given time, working as migrants in agriculture, mines, factories, and hauling barges as *batrakí*, the "Volga boatmen" of song and art. Individuals owned their own tools, weapons, clothes, and, notably among the Cossaks, riding horses. But most items of property—the house itself, the sheds, wagons, and garden—were held in common and administered by the house chief; and scions, even when toiling in remote provinces, or languishing as house serfs, had to render an exact account of their earnings. Thus, the extended households of Great Russia were based as much upon economic principles as upon those of kinship. The extended household was a "compromise kin group" (Murdock, 1949, pp. 75–78).

The houses themselves (*izbá*) ranged from small log cabins to massive, timbered blockhouses, with much gingerbread (*nalíchniki*) on the gables and around the window frames. But for the most part the Russians followed a basic two-storied design that included a semisubterranean space in which dwelt the livestock and a quasi-ancestral "granddaddy" house spirit (*dédushka domovój*), who had to be propitiated and, in case the family moved, carefully conducted into his new abode. The main floor was divided into three parts: a storeroom, the intermediate vestibule, often occupied by young people, and one or two large common rooms, where most of the six to twenty or more members slept on benches or in screened compartments around the wall. Children and grandparents slept on the huge earthenware or brick stove, which, occupying a fifth to a third of the floor space, was, like the house itself, an emotional focus and a feminine symbol in the folklore, as in the riddle, "The mother is fat, the daughter red/beautiful (*krasná*). Who are they?" (The stove and the flame.)

At least once a week, on Saturday, all the household, segregated only by sex, was required to take one or more steam baths either in the stove itself or in an attached bathhouse. The women and girls usually went in with the small children. Two or more men and boys would enter together and cooperate in switching each other with little brooms of birch. Persons incapacitated by age were inserted through the door of the stove by their younger relatives. The resulting naked proximity at extremely high temperatures may have intensified household solidarity in psychologically important ways; through heat or suffocation, people not infrequently "steamed themselves to death" (*zapárivanija sebjá do smérti;* Blomkvist, 1956, p. 263). The bath was followed by a cold shower

or plunge. Steaming as a rite of purification antedated Orthodoxy, and in the nineteenth century sex relations were still taboo till after Sunday mass.[5]

A second corner of the main room was reserved for icons and holy candles, a semisacred place for prayer. The women usually worked together in a third corner. Adolescents slept in the loft or vestibule during the warmer months. Floor plan A in Figure 2 below is of a north Russian peasant house that included the stockyard under the same great roof (Blomkvist, 1956, p. 215), as in the *Grossfamilien* of some Alpine regions. Plan B is from southeast Russia. Rather than being joined in one large dwelling or in a close, patrilocal cluster, the gentry lived in multi-sectioned houses or in several houses of the same neighborhood or region, with frequent visiting by carriage.

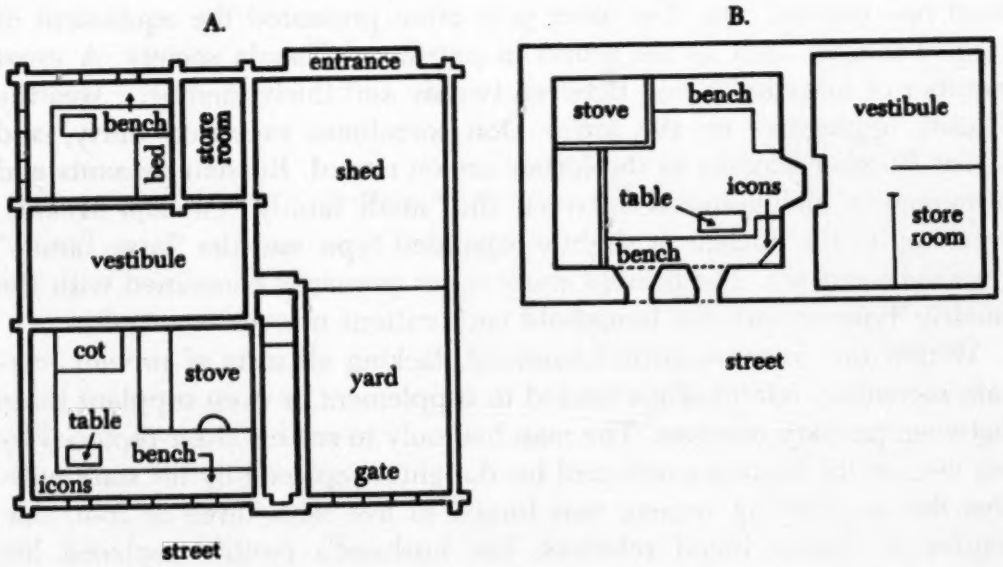


FIGURE 2.

Household membership typically included the following: (1) an older couple, with the husband as head; (2) at least one elderly woman who helped with the children, the "structural babushka"; (3) one or more adult men, generally sons of the chief; (4) the younger, unmarried sons and daughters; (5) the children of married residents; (6) sundry additional relatives through blood or marriage; (7) attached widows (*vdová*), orphans (*sirotá*), natural children, certain servants, and other persons who had been incorporated as *domochádtsy* with full membership rights. The group was held together by a network of reciprocal obligations, especially economic contracts, in which possession and usufruct were clearly distinguished. Above all, the status of relatives could be achieved

by sharing in the daily work. In some instances most of the structural slots were filled by persons not actually related by blood or religiously sanctioned marriage. A special term, *sjábri*, existed through the seventeenth century to denote the member of a household or small commune.

The patterns built up through prevailing patrilocality could be variously modified. Quite common were the joint fraternal families including brothers and cousins (usually the sons of brothers), presided over by the senior among them, the *bát'ja*. Both the patriarchal and the joint fraternal families could be augmented through the incorporation of sons- and brothers-in-law as *primakí*. There were also variations in size. At one extreme, a separate hut might be occupied by one nuclear family of parents and children, particularly in the geographically peripheral western, southern, and extreme northern regions. The middle range included many expanded families, especially stem families with a father and at least one married son. The other pole often presented the equivalent of large lineages, such as are found in patrilineal Tanala society. A great number of households had between twenty and thirty members; wealthy Cossak aggregates on the lower Don sometimes exceeded thirty; and Great Russian maxima in the forties are on record. Russian peasants and ethnologists dichotomized between the "small family" (*málaja sem'já*), referring to the nuclear or slightly expanded type, and the "large family" (*bol'shája sem'já*). The present study is not primarily concerned with the nuclear type or with the household corporations of over twenty-five.

Within the communalistic household, lacking all sorts of privacy, certain secondary relationships tended to supplement or even supplant those between primary relatives. The man had only to see his sister replaced by his own or his brother's wife and his daughter replaced by his son's wife. But the in-marrying woman was forced to live with three or four analogues of former blood relatives; her husband's mother replaced her mother as a source of authority, her husband's father replaced her father as a source of authority and affection, and her husband's brother became a sort of surrogate brother. Patrilocal residence thus gave the woman two households of identification, that of birth and that of marriage. When analyzing the meaning of kinship terms one must give particular attention to the household of postmarital identification of the person speaking and the person spoken to.

The corporate household persisted in time, often for one or two centuries, and individuals were formally identified to government officials by house names, often rather droll, as "from the house of the goats" (*Kozlov*), ". . . of the broken noses" (*Lomonosov*).

Households generally included three or more collateral or "side" (*bokovíjje*) lines and three or four generations. Four ascending and

descending generations were regularly differentiated in the kinship terminology, and further reaches could easily be specified. *Práshchur*, usually limited to the patrilineally reckoned grandfather's grandfather, was probably derived from an older root meaning household or lineage ancestor. It was followed by the bilaterally reckoned great-grandparents (e.g., *práded* for great-grandfather), and on down to the great-grandchildren. A grandfather's brother and sister were often classed as grandfather and grandmother, consonant with the tendency to extend sibling terms to cousins who were socially close. Collaterals in the parent's generation were reckoned by applying special kinship adjectives. In nonelder generations relationships to the fourth degree were designated by using the same adjectives with the words for brother, sister, nephew, niece, and the grandchildren; thus, a male cousin was a "second-line brother" (*dvojúrodnyj brat*), and so forth. "Fourth-line" cousins are seldom mentioned in the texts, and then with the frequent meaning of "distant." Nepotic kin beyond the children of a sibling are also rarely referred to.

Within the households younger persons were addressed by kin terms or by name or nickname, with the informal pronoun *ty*. Older persons were addressed by kinship term, but also by the more respectful name plus patronymic, such as Ivan Ivanich, and by the pronoun *vy* in very special contexts. The customary use of *ty* toward the landlord (but not his wife), Tsar, and God has been taken to symbolize the intimacy of absolute submission within the patriarchal framework. Modes of address thus underscored the line between elder and nonelder that will be explored below for the affinal kinship terms. But compared to many European cultures, Russian pronominal usage was egalitarian, peasants of all degrees simply reciprocating *ty*.

As has already become apparent, a patrilateral emphasis governed some semantic and social patterns. Evolving gradually from Old Slavic patriliny, a notion of *rod* or patriline underlay numerous derivative terms such as *rodonachál'nik*, the founder of a household or family tree; the gentry kept (primarily) patrilineal genealogies that reached back, in some cases, to the Varangians (Vikings) of the ninth century. The status of household head also passed down a sort of patrilateral column from father to son and elder to younger brother or, less often, paternal grandfather to grandson or father's brother to brother's son. One can think of headship as an achieved (rather than automatically ascribed) position that was transmitted from one man to the next. On the other hand, properly qualified women not infrequently took over the reins and created transitional matriarchies (particularly a widow with married children). The house chief could be deposed by a household council, in which

	4	3	2	1	1	2	3	4
+4				*prashchur* PaPaPaFa	*prashchurka* PaPaPaMo			
+3				*praded* PaPaFa	*prababa* PaPaMo			
+2			*dvojurodnyj ded* PaPaBr	*ded* PaFa	*baba* PaMo	*dvo. baba* PaPaSi		
+1		*dv. djadja* PaPaSbSo	*djadja* PaBr	*otets* Fa	*mat'* Mo	*tjotja* PaSi	*dvo. tjotja* PaPaSbDa	
0	*tro. brat* PaPaSbChSo	*dv. brat* PaSbSo	*brat* Br			*sestra* Si	*dvo. sestra* PaSbDa	*tro. sestra* PaPaSbChDa
−1		*dv. plem.* PaSbChSo	*plemjannik* SbSo	*syn* So	*doch'* Da	*plemjannitsa* SbDa	*dvo. plem.*[c] PaSbChDa	
−2			*vnuchatyj plem.*, or *dvojurodnyj vnuk* SbChSo	*vnuk* ChSo	*vnuchka* ChDa	*vnuchataja plem.*[a], or *dvo. vnuchka* SbChDa		
−3				*pravnuk* ChChSo	*pravnuchka* ChChDa			

FIGURE 3. Modern Russian Consanguines. (Friedrich, 1962, p. 15.)

women had equal rights, but his powers while in office were considerable, including the collection of taxes, settling disputes, representation in higher councils, enforcing the draft call (of four to twenty-five years), directing distant members earning taxes for the household, and, finally, negotiating the marriage of members.

By 1700, Russian terms for the avuncular and nepotic relationships were no longer bifurcate collateral, and the kinship system had become technically lineal, lumping the parents' brothers together as against the father, and so forth. But various secondary patterns suggest a qualification. Thus, the word for the parents' brother, *djádja*, was clearly related to that for the grandfather and the grandfather's brother, *ded*, and the Russian apparently tended to lump conceptually his *djádushka* and his *dédushka* (to cite the more frequent, diminutive forms), as a category of authoritative, older males. Furthermore, the fact that the adjectives denoting degree of collaterality could be dropped when referring to personally close individuals meant that close cousins were frequently classed with siblings. And the current term, *bratán*, with several alternates, served to cover brother, a male cousin, or a ritual brother, while his wife was called *bratánikha*, his son *bratánich*, and his daughter *bratánna*. Nephews and nieces through a brother were often distinguished from those through a sister. The speaker tended to identify his brother's children with his brother, as indicated by the term *brátich* (brother's son), and his sister's children with his sister, as in *séstrich*, "little male sister" (sister's son). The component of "sex of linking relative" here implies the spatial segregation resulting from the rule of residence. The patrilocal household was still reflected in the collateral terms of 1850.

Despite the ritually emphasized male dominance, women's rights in property were legally recognized and scrupulously respected. Women at all social levels transmitted property, although among the peasantry it was mainly the valuables of the dowry, whereas among the gentry they independently controlled large estates and other capital. Descent was also bilateral, being traced through men and women to a considerable distance. Large bilateral kindreds surrounded each individual, extending collaterally to three degrees in one's own generation and to two degrees in the first ascending and descending generations, as well as including all secondary and several more distant types of affines; the incest taboo was extended to all second cousins and many tertiary affines. The kindred cooperated in the major rites of transition—birth, marriage, and death. Since the members of a household or small village thought of one another as relatives (*rodnýje*), it is evident that the three basic structures of household, kindred, and village overlapped in membership and in many functions.

The solidarity of these groups was variously buttressed. Brothers were bound by what appear to have been the strongest ideals of loyalty. Furthermore, the Russians had developed a number of analogous relationships, among them ritual siblinghood (*pobratímstvo*), which was sealed by exchanging the cross worn around the neck (*natél'nyj krest*). A total of fourteen alternate terms, some of them situationally definable, are listed by Dahl for the single status of ritual sibling. Children of ritual brothers were often classed with the brother's children, as already noted. In addition, the institution of ritual coparenthood, linking parents and godparents to the same child, was as vital to the Russian peasant as to the Mexican Indian; the incest taboo was apparently extended to such relatives. Like so many Russian kinship terms, the plural of *kum*, or ritual cofather, was morphologically an old collective that may still have expressed something of the close identity between the contracting parties, the *kumov'já*. Coeval relationships were further increased by the *svat* status binding together the parents of spouses. Finally, individuals who had been suckled by the same woman were "milk children" to her and milk brother (*molóchnyj brat*) or milk sister to each other, often an important tie within the household or village. Given the custom of peasant wet nurses, the milk relationship often cut across class lines, although the degree of recognition varied. Aksakov, who felt close to the folk, wrote affectionately about a peasant girl as his milk sister. In short, the true and ritual siblings, ritual coparents, co-parents-in-law (*svatý*), and the various categories of natural (*pobóchnyj*), adopted (*nazványj*), and otherwise attached siblings all added up to a wide tier of age-mates that more than balanced the vertical lines of paternal and chiefly authority and descent.

The egalitarian, quasi-sibling ties and the extended household together provided a background or model for the village assemblies in which all adults or, in many areas, all household heads had an equal vote in electing and advising the headman. "Brotherhoods" of households often cooperated to pioneer in Siberia. Most decisions affecting the community were worked out informally by the household heads and other "old ones" (*starikí*), although formal treatment was given such important matters as the tax collection, the draft, migration, and the administration and redistribution of land. All villagers were cognizant of minute details in each other's homes; social control was gerontocratic and effective. The headman could and did interfere in domestic affairs, as is superbly depicted in Zlatovratskyj. In fact, a village assembly with its headman resembled a large household council with its *bol'shák;* and in the northeast, where a village might be a patrilocal cluster, the two offices could coalesce.

Extended households and the communalistic forms of local administration were both artificially reinforced during and after the seventeenth century by the Moscow government and by the landlords, because they were convenient for social control and collecting taxes. During the eighteenth century, in particular, the Muscovite state issued a series of specific regulations designed to shore up the extended households (Englemann, 1884, pp. 342–375). The system of passports hung like the "sword of Damocles" over absent relatives, and the money economy actually stimulated their migrant labor to support the household and the obligations of marriage.

Through ornate ritual and largely unintelligible Slavonic liturgy local priests managed to support with supernatural sanctions the bonds of wedlock and the affinal bonds between households. More immediate than the one beneficent God, however, was the devil, conceptualized as God's brother, in a remarkably dualistic system, and the host of water nymphs, hobgoblins, demons, and other spirits that peopled the houses, streams, trees, and other objects in the animistic world. A rich body of formulas and incantations bespoke the role of magic and sorcery as mechanisms for channeling aggression between kinsmen.

In conclusion, a peculiar concatenation of fairly specific ecological, economic, social, governmental, and religious forces all contributed to the formation and preservation of a distinctive corporate structure, the compromise kin group of the extended household. The institution had strong roots in Old or Kievan Russia, and even back in Proto-Slavic and Proto-Indo-European. But the present, essentially synchronic study is mainly concerned with the hundred years prior to the rapid changes precipitated by the emancipation of the serfs in 1861.

THE AFFINAL TERMS

I lack the possibly simpler and more precise sets that a trained field worker would hypothetically have collected from one informant in one village in 1850. The "Russian gentleman" who filled out L. H. Morgan's schedule listed only one kin type for each kinship term; but surely synonymy and homonymy are more widespread than is suggested by that simplified list of terms and glosses, and one of the problems is, precisely, to account for such phenomena. The affinal terminology has been collated from the available documents and is listed below, together with "irregular" plurals, and appears again in Figure 4. Numbers in parenthesis indicate the number of alternative forms containing the same root, as with the alternatives *shúrin* and *shurák*, or other, essentially synonymous terms, as *primák* and *vlazénets*. The high degree of synonymy in Russian

kinship resulted from various causes, including regional differentiation, the use of kinship terms for tabooed objects, and the people's obvious preoccupation with kinship. The contextual determinants of synonymy are often hard to infer from the written sources, which are also sometimes unclear as to whether tertiary as against secondary affinal kin types are the objects of reference. Parentheses have been used in the list of terms below for denotations that were probably limited in distribution and frequency. Except for the terms for step relatives (19 through 24), the English glosses are translations of the Russian language definitions of the same terms.

1. *muzh,* husband; *muzh'já*
2. *zhená,* wife
3. *svjókor* (2), husband's father
4. *svekróv'* (5), husband's mother
5. *test',* wife's father
6. *tjóshcha,* wife's mother
7. *déver',* husband's brother, (husband's sister's husband); *dever'já*
8. *zolóvka* (2), husband's sister
9. *shúrin* (2), wife's brother; *shur'já*
10. *svojáchenitsa* (7), wife's sister
11. *bratanikha* (1), brother's, cousin's or ritual brother's wife
12. *snokhá,* (man's) son's wife
13. *zjat',* sister's husband, daughter's husband, (husband's sister's husband); *zjat'já*
14. *nevéstka,* brother's wife, (woman's) son's wife, (husband's brother's wife)
15. *svoják,* wife's sister's husband, sister's husband, (husband's sister's husband)
16. *játrov'* (5), husband's brother's wife, brother's wife, (wife's brother's wife)
17. *svat,* child's spouse's father; *svatov'já;* also male affine
18. *svát'ja,* child's spouse's mother, female affine
19. *(v)ótchim* (2), stepfather
20. *máchekha* (2), stepmother
21. *pásynok* (4), stepson
22. *pádcheritsa* (8), stepdaughter
23. *svódnyj brat* (1), stepbrother
24. *svódnaja sestrá* (1), stepsister
25. *primák* (4), uxorilocal *zjat'*
26. *vodvórka* (5), uxorilocal daughter
27. *djadina,* parent's brother's wife
28. *djádja* (5), parent's brother, (parent's sister's husband); *djad'já*

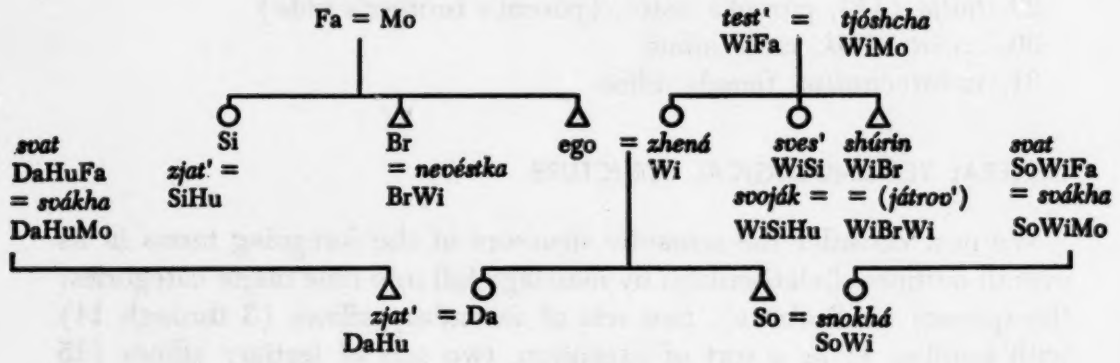
29. *tjótja* (11), parent's sister, (parent's brother's wife)
30. *svójstvennik*, male affine
31. *svójstvennitsa*, female affine

GENERAL TERMINOLOGICAL STRUCTURE

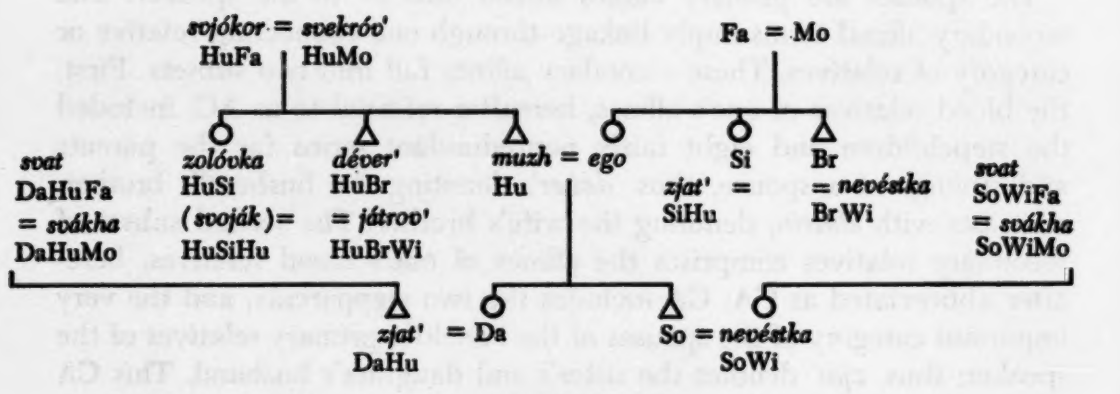
We now consider the semantic structure of the foregoing terms in its overall outlines. Relationships by marriage fall into nine major categories: the spouses (1, 2 above), two sets of secondary affines (3 through 14) with number 11 as a sort of exception, two sets of tertiary affines (15 through 18), the step relatives (19 through 24), the *vodvórka* set (25, 26), followed by the elder affines (27, 28, 29), and, finally, the general class of affines (30, 31).

The spouses are primary affines linked directly to the speaker. The secondary affinal terms imply linkage through one connecting relative or category of relatives. These secondary affines fall into two subsets. First, the blood relatives of one's affines, hereafter referred to as AC, included the stepchildren and eight fairly nonredundant terms for the parents and siblings of a spouse; thus, *déver'*, denoting the husband's brother, contrasts with *shúrin*, denoting the wife's brother. The second subset of secondary relatives comprises the affines of one's blood relatives, hereafter abbreviated as CA; CA includes the two stepparents, and the very important category of the spouses of the nonelder primary relatives of the speaker; thus, *zjat'* denotes the sister's and daughter's husband. This CA subset is marked by the way it overrides generation difference. Reckoning by relative products of C(onsanguines) and A(ffines) was implicit in Russian language and culture, especially in the reckoning of incest.

The remaining set, that of tertiary affines, involves linkage through two connecting relatives, and is also subdivided into two subsets. The first subset comprises the affines of consanguines of a spouse, symbolized as ACA—concretely, the spouse's sibling's spouse. For example, *játrov'* primarily denoted the husband's brother's wife. The second subset of tertiary affines includes the consanguines of affines of one's blood relatives, CAC, and thereby the classes of step siblings (parent's spouse's children) and of co-parent-in-law. To illustrate, *svat* denoted the child's spouse's father. The terms for both subsets of tertiary affines refer only to persons of the speaker's own generation; but relations in the first subset, ACA, were reckoned only through age-mates, whereas those in the second, CAC, subset had to be reckoned through an elder or a younger generation, as will be explained more fully below. The Russian tertiary sets constitute mirror images of each other—ACA as against CAC—just as do the secondary sets of AC and CA. Curiously, Russian lacked terms



A. Male ego



B. Female ego

FIGURE 4. Russian affinal terms.

for the logical types of CAC that can be traced through age-mates, that is, for the sibling's spouse's sibling and the sibling's spouse's parent. A general term such as *svójstvennik* would probably have been used for a brother's wife's brother, if he were referred to as a kinsman at all. Russian also lacked CAC terms for the child's spouse's sibling (although they crop up in the extended affinal sets of Polynesia), and for the (ACC type) spouse's sibling's child, and the (CCA type) sibling's child's spouse. Terms for the logically possible AAA and AAC types do not occur, and CC and CCC fall into the consanguine set.

The step relationships constituting the sixth set were structurally analogous to primary blood relationships and were reckoned like secondary and tertiary ones. But the step affines have been treated here as a separate category because they shared a definable step component and a strong connotation of "stepness." The seventh or *vodvórka* set included two semantic slots that were unique in implying a component of

uxorilocal residence counter to the prevailing patrilocal pattern. Next, a small set of general terms, and morphological plurals or collectives, were used for categories of affines conceived of as groups; thus, *játrovy* denoted the group of co-sisters-in-law in a household. Some other terms were used for any affine or, more specifically, for a nonelder person in a household linked by marriage to that of the speaker.

In Russian there was a pervasive distinction between elder and nonelder relatives, as suggested at points in the consanguineal set above. Within the affinal terminology, the spouse's parents formed part of the AC group, but otherwise all elder affines were either outside the kinship domain (with one exception) or were classed with the closest blood relatives. Thus, the parent's sibling's spouse *might* be termed uncle (*djádja*) or aunt (*tjótja*) as a gesture of courtesy, but in actual usage this would be qualified as "not *rodnój*," or "through marriage" (*po bráku*), or some other phrase (thus also underscoring the dichotomy between consanguinity and affinity). Given the sharply circumscribed treatment of elder affines, it is all the more significant that in most of the north a special term existed for the parent's brother's wife, the *djadina*, consonant with the patrilocal incorporation of the father's brother's wife and the special visits of the child to the mother's natal household; the *djadina* was technically part of one's kindred (Shimkin and Sanjuan, 1953, p. 332).

Affinal and consanguineal distance in Russian corresponded in part to Murdock's genealogical distance (Murdock, 1949, pp. 94–95), whereby a brother or husband is primary, a brother's wife or husband's sister secondary, and so forth. But there are several qualifications. First, that affinal distance was not rigid is suggested by certain variations through which less important affines of the secondary AC/CA type were referred to by the (tertiary) ACA terms, and, on the other hand, the affines of consanguines of affines might in some secondary usages be referred to by AC/CA terms, as explained below; the governing consideration here appears to have been, not distance, but the role of the kin type in the household. The conceptual reality of distance, on the other hand, is intimated by covariation with other components; the componential structure for secondary affines differed from that for tertiary affines. Secondary consanguines were also set off from tertiary consanguines; the named set of *rodnój* kin included primary and secondary blood relatives—the CC types of grand relative, and the immediate uncles, aunts, nephews, and nieces. In the third place, consanguineal distance was actually reckoned two ways. First, connecting relatives were counted by links (*zvenó*), making a cousin a third-degree relative. Second, they could be reckoned along a horizontal plane calculated sideways from the

vertical column of the speaker's own line: the uncle, brother, and nephew were *rodnój*, whereas the parent's, own, and nephew's cousins were "second-line" (*dvojúrodnyj*), and so forth. Third, Orthodox priests reckoned genealogical degree (*stépen'*) by counting the number of linking births. Thus, distance was explicit in a variety of ways.

Charts of the semantic structure of the affinal terms will be presented below, where each term is considered in detail. Because of considerable homonymy and synonymy, any schematization must remain partial and in abstraction from certain minor variations which have to be accounted for separately. But except for the spouse terms, the Russian affinal terms as a set, in marked contrast to the consanguineal set, had no homonymous extension involving age groups, ritual kinsmen, ecclesiastical statuses, or such ultimate life symbols as the mother steppe, "Mother Russia," and Father Don. The affinal set was much more exclusively a "kinship" one and the graphic layouts on the figures cover much of the semantic structure.

COURTSHIP AND WEDDING

Courtship and wedding procedures help our understanding of the dynamics underlying the household and affinal terminology. Adolescence was often gay, with dancing, balalaika playing, and the like. Young men typically avoided marriage. Considerable freedom of premarital courtship prevailed within the village during (often unchaperoned) evening get-togethers (*posidélki*) in winter and visiting in the vestibule, lofts, and fields in summer. These customs were probably connected with the strong preference among parents for wives from another village; as one proverb has it, "Even an owl, but from a distant village." In fact, the girl often feared to leave her home, but she had little choice; young people who entered marriage without the parental blessing, or, more terrible yet, with the parental curse, incurred supernatural wrath as well as loss of inheritance or help with the dowry. The nominally agamous villages were practically exogamous in the north.

Tremendous pressures pushed a girl toward marriage; an old maid of thirty was cruelly mocked, and often resented in her own family. During her youth, therefore, a girl worked "hour by hour, and day by day" to accumulate funds for the dowry (*pridánoje*), "the sum got together by the industry and thrift of the maiden" (Kovalevskyj, 1891, p. 59). Unmarried girls thus contravened the household in not just working for the common budget. Some women became impoverished, or had an excess of daughters, or had to expend their dowry on subsistence, but the majority of mothers substantially helped their daughters, since

the movables of the dowry—money, jewelry, and clothes—passed down the female line and were scrupulously guarded in ideal and in fact from the fathers, brothers, and husbands, who, unlike the women, inherited a direct share in the usufruct of the joint household. Girls could expect some help from their father and, if he died, from their brothers; a doting and wealthy father was particularly likely to enhance his daughter's value. But with the rising destitution and merciless taxation of the nineteenth century, more and more girls had to earn the greater part of their own dowry and did not get married until their early twenties.

Marriage arrangements were normally initiated by the boy's parents, who went out themselves, sent out ceremonial relatives, or, most usually, dealt through the semiprofessional matchmakers called *svatý*. Several visits were eventually necessary to inspect the girl formally; she had to walk back and forth and answer a few questions to test her speech. Both parents were primarily interested in acquiring a husky worker as demonstrated, for example, by the size of her dowry. Long arguments and formal discussion (*rjad*) about the bride-wealth and the dowry were closed with the betrothal, sealed by a formal handshake and followed by heavy drinking of vodka. The bride and groom (*zheníkh*) had to take a steam bath before the wedding (*svádʹba*), which was climaxed by the Orthodox rite in a local church and followed by gargantuan feasting. Much of the bride-wealth was spent on these activities. The bride indicated her future submissiveness by receiving light lashes, removing her husband's boots (containing a small whip), and other heavy-handed symbolism. Terms for blood relatives were extended to half a dozen ceremonial statuses connected with wedding procedure, and the young couple were referred to as "prince and princess." The groom's elder brother or some substitute male played a protective, friendly role toward the bride. The sumptuous and ornate wedding, often involving the entire village, was the major rite of transition.

The relative size of the dowry and the bride-wealth (*kládka*) varied considerably. But as a rule the two payments were each about equal to two to five years' full-time income of a single worker, or about a quarter of the total annual income of a small, patrilocal family. The dowry remained the wife's personal property, to the credit of her new household, and as security that the granddaughters of her father-in-law (*svjókor*) would have a dowry. The bride-wealth, on the contrary, was assembled by the boy's father and house chief and given to the girl's parents, or just to her father. Thus, the persons offering goods were the bride and the boy's father, as is shown in Figure 5.[6] The economic contract was functionally related to the personal tie between father-in-law and daughter-in-law in a typologically unusual way.

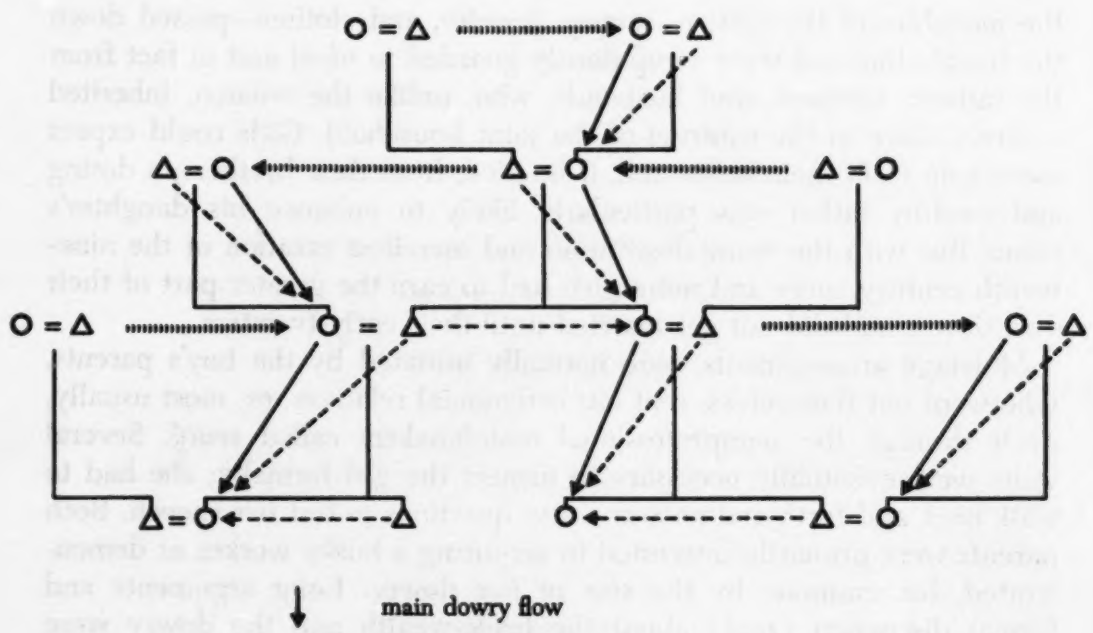


FIGURE 5.

SPECIFIC TERMS AND ASSOCIATED BEHAVIOR

Primary Affines. The spouse categories (*muzh* and *zhená*) are in some ways not even affinal but, rather, encompass one-quarter of the immediate family; spouses are eventually related through the blood of their children. The spouse terms implied equality of generation, but equal age was weakly connoted. The first marriage was normally with a girl of about one's own age or a bit younger, but with an older girl in her twenties in a considerable minority of cases. Second or common-law marriage with a woman ten or more years older was not infrequent and, on the other hand, middle-aged widowers often took wives twenty or more years their junior.

Marriage was stable within the viripotestal context supported by both households; divorce was legally almost impossible. Millions of couples may have approximated the ideal of harmonious marriage, but Russian folklore and ethnography also abound with references to open conflict that is exceptional when compared with other European cultures. Many peasants regarded wife beating as necessary, even praiseworthy, and women characteristically took it as their lot, even as a sign of affection, although often they were physically stronger than their husbands. The early, arranged marriages and the long absences of young husbands

probably contributed to such domestic violence. On the other hand, although women might be regarded with contempt or whipped by some husbands, they were essentially equal in most rewards and obligations. Wives controlled affairs within the home with considerable authority. The strict and approximately equal division of labor and other activities along sexual lines (Vakar, 1962, p. 36) was correlated with the fact that every single affinal term discriminated the sex of the relative.

In daily life the peasants were more apt to use *bába* (adult woman) or *khozjájka* (house mistress) for the wife, and *khozjájn* or *bátjushka* for the husband; the latter was also used in addressing the father, house chief, landlord, Tsar, and God. The terms for groom and bride (*nevésta*), while denoting ephemeral statuses, are invariably treated as kinship terms by Russians; the bride term was obviously related to that for son's or brother's wife, the *nevéstka*.

Term clusters by levels of contrast				Terms	Kin type description
1	2	3	4		
AC	Link M	Gen +	M	*svjókor*	HuFa
			F	*svekróv'*	HuMo
		Gen 0	M	*déver'*	HuBr
			F	*zolóvka*	HuSi
	Link F	Gen +	M	*test'*	WiFa
			F	*tjóshcha*	WiMo
		Gen 0	M	*shúrin*	WiBr
			F	*sves'*	WiSi
CA	Link F	Gen 0, −	M	*zjat'*	SiHu, DaHu
	Link M		F	*nevéstka*	BrWi, SoWi

FIGURE 6. Semantic components for a sample of secondary affinal terms. *Note:* AC (consanguine of ego's affine), CA (affine of ego's consanguine), Link (sex of linking relative), M (male), F (female), Gen +, 0, − (relative's generation senior, same, junior to ego's).

Secondary Affines. The terms for secondary affines involve one linking relative. To facilitate discussion, the terms and the components that underlie them are listed schematically in Figure 6. The first subclass comprises the relationships resulting directly from the marriage of the speaker (AC). The spouse's siblings and parents were symbolized by a symmetrical set of eight terms that were largely descriptive and nonredundant in the sense that they denoted only one kin type each; a sharp line was drawn between the husband's and the wife's kin. Here as else-

where the component of "sex of linking relative" was significant not so much because it ultimately implied an awareness of sex differences but rather because it ultimately implied the crucial differences between the households of postmarital identification of the husband as against the wife. By the same token, giving this component priority over that of "generation," as was done in Figure 6, leads to a final grouping of terms and kin types that conforms with behavior patterns and household membership.[7]

The four terms for parents-in-law (3 to 6 above) involve obvious components of sex and generation. On the other hand, both the husband's parents could be denoted collectively as *svjókry*, and all three terms for the husband's parents strongly connoted superior authority. A large number of women probably established friendly working relations with their mothers-in-law, but it is equally definite that the husband's mother tended to realize the stereotype of a distaff patriarch, sternly ordering about her isolated and often overworked daughter-in-law during the long, snowbound winters. Tension between a man's wife and his mother pervades Russian folklore, as in the often quoted complaint, "What kind of a son are you, what kind of a family man? You don't beat your young wife." Sharp conflict ensued from arrangements in which the two women might in effect be cowives.

The husband's father slept in the same room with his daughters-in-law and directly supervised their work in the fields, especially during the climactic harvests. The middle-aged man was often more attracted to his strapping young *snokhá* than to his prematurely aging wife, and the *snokhá* was often more attracted to her father-in-law in turn than to her young and frequently absent husband. Informal sex relations with the son's wife, known as *snokháchestov*, are described by many native and foreign authorities (e.g., Leroy Beaulieu, 1881, p. 488), and are classed by reliable scholars as "customary," although technically a sin (*grekh*), because between secondary affines; a favorite Russian saying is "sins differ" (*grekhí grekhám rozn'*). It has not been possible to determine the frequency, but a man who had been married off by his parents to an older or incompatible woman would himself be likely to perpetuate the institution when his turn came. Frequent allusions in the literature qualify it as an important psychological theme and a patterned expectancy. For example, Sholokhov (1959, vol. I, p. 195), has the proud Cossak patriarch nearly raped in the wagon shed by one of his sons' wives; the Cossak patterns were intensified by the absence of men on military duty much of the time between the ages of seventeen and forty-seven, which also led to traditionally widespread favors not only to the *snokhár* (adulterous husband's father), but to other villagers

home on furlough. The gentry apparently lacked these practices, but not the covert tensions; it is probably no accident that in the one full picture of rural gentry available, a positive and relatively unambivalent emotion binds the old patriarch and his young (and vivacious and domineering) daughter-in-law (Aksakov, 1848). *Snokhachestvo* may have been on the increase during the second half of the century. It was partly the product of labor migration and the nature of the initial marriage contract, but may also be taken as a further index of extreme patriarchy.[8] With or without *snokhachestvo,* the Russian patrilocal family often bore a striking resemblance to an extended polygynous one.

From the man's point of view, a wife's parents were visiting relatives in other villages, with comparatively few rights over him. The term for the wife's father is devoid of connotation by contrast with that for the husband's father. The wife's mother, *tjóshcha,* might be envisaged as a friend, grateful to her *zjat'* for marrying her daughter and most hospitable to him on visits. For obvious reasons real hostility could also develop between *tjóshcha* and *zjat'*: "There is no enemy like a son-in-law." But the reciprocal relation was neutral by contrast with relations between contiguous generations within the same household.

This brings us to the spouse's siblings, who were differentiated according to the sex of the linking spouse. *Déver'*, husband's brother, strongly connoted comembership in the woman's household of marriage. A *déver'* did not share his parents' strong rights over and ambivalence toward the in-marrying girl. The apparent absence of sexual relations or secondary marriage with a husband's brother—or of psychological complications in general—may have stemmed from the deep loyalty between brothers, the religiously sanctioned incest taboo, and the protracted absences of brothers from the home. Marriage of two brothers with two sisters was forbidden by canon law and probably never occurred. As noted, the husband's elder brother usually served as best man and master of ceremonies at the great wedding. A proverb aptly sums up the reciprocal bond: "The husband's brother is the customary friend of his brother's wife." The term *déver'* was secondarily employed for a husband's sister's husband (as in Aksakov, 1848, p. 171), perhaps implying a conceptual identification of both men as a larger class of the woman's male affinal age-mates. Contrasting with the term for husband's brother, the term for wife's brother was *shúrin.* The *shúrin* enjoyed virtually no authority or rights of inheritance in the family of his sister's husband, unless the latter happened to be a household head or tried to misuse the dowry. As for all relationships through the wife, the term *shúrin* referred to only one kin type.

The positive attachments to a husband's brother contrasted sharply

with the stereotypically negative relation of a woman to her husband's sister, the *zolóvka*: "Seven *dever'já* are my joy, and one *zolóvka* is my bane." The clear terminological differentiation of this kind of sister-in-law reflected a major human adjustment required of the (necessarily female) speaker and, to a lesser extent, of her husband's sisters—always until the marriage of the latter, and sometimes long afterward. Their identification with a common household could and often did lead to mutual confidence and love, but it could also foment antagonism and stress, especially if the mother pampered her daughter while domineering over her son's wife. The daughter, in her turn, often took advantage of her privileged status by playing the role of a spiteful chatterbox; considerable motivation underlay the folk etymology whereby *zolóvka* and *zólva* (a frequent alternate) were derived from the root *zl-*, meaning "wicked, malevolent."[9] On the other hand, the tenderness felt by a *muzhík* toward his daughter was nurtured in the certainty that she would soon be abandoning the household; the attachment felt toward an adolescent girl, often coupled with hostility toward a fully mature woman, is a theme of peculiar power in Russian literature. Among the peasants, in any case, the absolute taboo separating the patriarch from his daughter did not, as we have seen, stand between him and his son's wife. And the average woman, finally, would be appreciably older than her husband's unmarried sister. For all these reasons, the relations of the two women with other members of the household were largely complementary.

The wife's sister was referred to by the fairly neutral term of *svojáchenitsa* or, dialectally, *sves'* (Dahl, 1882, vol. 4, p. 154). She characteristically lived in another village and was bound to her sister's husband mainly by virtue of the emotional link to her own sister. Like all the secondary terms of AC type, the dichotomy between the wife's sister and the husband's sister symbolized the fact that the husband tied his wife to affines in her new household, whereas none of the affines through the wife normally shared a household with the husband; normally a man was neither before nor after marriage a member of the household of his wife's sister.

We turn now to the secondary relationships that include the consanguine's affines (CA), a set generated by marriages other than that of the speaker. As is evident in Figure 6, the terminological structure here differed significantly from that underlying the spouse's relative. The CA cluster comprises two core terms, *zjat'* and *nevéstka*.

Zjat' denoted a sister's husband or daughter's husband (Aksakov, 1848, p. 135) and could, I suspect, be extended to the husband of a granddaughter in the household. The term thus overrode generation, referring to a class of men who were simply not older than the speaker and who

took a girl out of his or her household; *zjat'* also implied a class of nonelder linking relatives, since it was not extended to the father's sister's husband. In other words, *zjat'* implies that the members of the household conceive of themselves as a group vis-à-vis the man who takes a young, productive woman from their midst. The relatives, linking relatives, and speakers connected with *zjat'* thus suggest the unity of the household, a notion that does not "explain" the Russian system but does make it more intelligible. A neuter derivative, *zjatev'é,* was used collectively for these brothers- and sons-in-law as a group, and was sometimes extended to other affines. Folk etymology linked *zjat'* with the word for "take" (*vzjat'*), although it more probably goes back to a Proto-Indo-European stem for daughter's husband, or at least an affine.

Paralleling *zjat',* the term *nevéstka* was used for the brother's wife and the son's wife, the latter usage being more typical of a woman speaker. *Nevéstka* may well have been extended to the in-marrying wives of nephews and grandsons in the household, that is, to the generic class of nonelder female affines in the speaker's home. To what extent, one may ask, did one hear the expression "our *zjat',*" and "our *nevéstka*?" Both *zjat'* and *nevéstka* imply that the linking relative was born in the speaker's household of birth or of postmarital identification, as would be true of any sibling or child. The overriding of generation differences, shared only in a comparatively unimportant way by the nepotic terms in Russian, may be interpreted as evidence for the unity of the household. This is quite analogous to the way the overriding of generation in Crow or Omaha cousin terminologies reflects the solidarity of the lineage in a matrilineal or patrilineal society.

The patterns of synonymy connected with *nevéstka* are distinctive, however, partly because *nevéstka* also had the more specific meaning of a status transitional between that of bride, the *nevésta,* and that of an affine fully incorporated after a year of residence or the birth of a child. The *nevéstka* was thought to be in danger from local and house spirits and, contrariwise, to be the bearer of vague, unclean forces from without. Both the terms *nevésta* and *nevéstka* were felt to be derived from the root for "known" (*vest-*), the girl in question thus emerging as "the unknown one" whose actual name was placed under a taboo in some regions. After the first year other terms might be substituted or coexist in free variation with *nevéstka.* The notion of brother's or cousin's wife could be covered by *brataníkha,* probably limited to male speakers. Both the father- and mother-in-law could use the alternative term, *synóvka,* etymologically a derivative of *syn,* "son." Finally, *snokhá* was regularly employed by a man for his son's wife, although in many regions the mother-in-law might also use it (Sholokhov, 1959, vol. 2, p. 430). "The

woman who married into my household" was thus named in several alternative ways.

Finally, *zjat'* could be extended to the husband's sister's husband, and *nevéstka* could be used for the husband's brother's wife. More should be known about the frequency and distribution of these extended usages, since the kin types denoted are the same as those denoted by two tertiary affinal terms, to be discussed below. In any case, these ACA usages imply a female speaker, the woman simply following the usage of her husband and his family for CA relatives. She uses *zjat'* for the man her husband and his parents and siblings called *zjat'*, namely their daughter's or sister's husband, and she uses *nevéstka* for the woman they call *nevéstka*, that is, their son's or brother's wife. The in-marrying woman thus modeled her speech upon that of her husband's group, just as was expected of her. As one Russian saying goes, the ideal woman is "submissive to her father-in-law, obedient to her mother-in-law, attentive to her brother-in-law, obliging to her sister-in-law, and loving to her husband." Both these extensions of the reference of *zjat'* and *nevéstka* symbolize the influence of the household on the postmarital orientation of the in-marrying woman.

Tertiary Affines. The tertiary affines imply two linking relatives. The two tertiary classes of the ACA subtype merit somewhat extended discussion as constituting a sort of key to the Russian system. *Játrov'* primarily denoted a husband's brother's wife. By 1850 *jatrov'* was already growing archaic and dialectal, but, with five widespread alternates, was still a pan-Russian category. *Játrov'* was paralleled by *svoják*, denoting primarily the wife's sister's husband. A woman was necessarily a *játrov'* to her *játrov'*, while a man would be *svoják* to his *svoják*. In their primary reference, therefore, both terms are their own reciprocals. Complete reciprocity is made possible here by linkage through two siblings of the same sex. The symmetrical classification of *játrov'* and *svoják* symbolizes the functional similarities between siblings of the same sex in the Russian system.[10]

Játrov' strongly connoted comembership in the same patrilocal or joint fraternal household; the term recurs in use as a reciprocal or in the plural (*játrovy*), which, like the synonymous *snochénitsy*, was a sort of collective for designating co-sisters-in-law. The *játrovy* did in fact cooperate as a team for domestic and agricultural work, supervised by their parents-in-law. Correspondingly, the term *svoják* often occurs in the plural to denote the group of men married to sisters. Typically these latter lived apart, but visited each other on many occasions and were proverbially free with each other's hospitality. Since they were linked by sisters rather than elective affinity the relationship not infrequently

deteriorated to the point where "a black dog stands between two *svojaká*." The contrast between the loyalty of real blood and that of the quasi-fraternal ties between two sisters' husbands is brought home neatly by the proverb: "Two brothers will go for a bear, but two *svojaká* for a fruit pudding." In addition, the rarer term, *dvojúrodnyj svoják*, combining a consanguineal adjective with an affinal term, appears to have been mainly used in the plural to denote the husbands of female cousins, the *dvojúrodnyje* or "second-line" sisters, probably the daughters of two brothers in many cases.

But *játrov'* and *svoják* secondarily and infrequently denoted the wife's brother's wife and husband's sister's husband respectively (as in Aksakov 1848, p. 123). The secondary extension of *játrov'* to the wife's brother's wife may reflect the usage of the *primák*, who had settled with his wife and had adjusted to the reciprocal usage of the co-sisters-in-law in his household of marriage. The parallel extension of *svoják* to the husband's sister's husband may also reflect cases of women referring to an

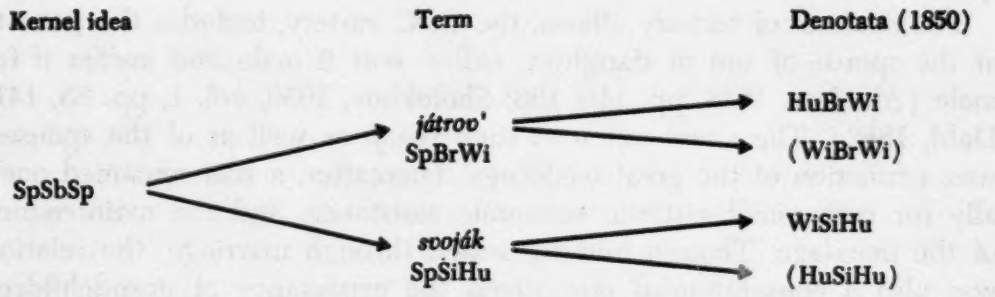


FIGURE 7. (Friedrich, 1962, p. 15.)

indwelling *primák* in her household of marriage. But *primakí* were in a definite minority and it is hard to know just how much effect the uxorilocal alternative had on kinship nomenclature. More probably, both extensions reflect the logical operation of analogy (Murdock, 1949, p. 136). Both the primary and secondary denotata of the two terms as they have been set forth can in fact be covered by the more generic notion of the spouse's brother's spouse in the case of *játrov'*, and the spouse's sister's spouse, in the case of *svoják*. Thus both terms denote a type of spouse's sibling's spouse and in each case the difference between husband and wife is ignored in favor of the more general idea of "spouse." What seems to matter is the fact of linkage through two siblings necessarily born and raised in a household different from that of the speaker. The classifications symbolize the unity of the household in the aforementioned sense. The taxonomic relations are summarized in Figure 7.

In the third place, both the terms being analyzed had secondary de-

notata that place them out of the ACA and into the CA sets. *Játrov'* could also refer to the brother's wife—from either the husband's brother's or the husband's sister's point of view—thus overlapping with two CA terms, *nevéstka* and *brataníkha*. *Játrov'* with the meaning of spouse's brother's wife and brother's wife thus comes close to being the generic term for any sister-in-law, particularly the indwelling sisters-in-law of a woman. The term *svoják*, on the other hand, was extended in a symmetrical fashion to cover not only the wife's sister's husband but also the sister's husband (irrespective of the speaker's sex), thus overlapping with *zjat'*. At least in some regions it was even used for the wife's brother, thus intersecting with *shúrin* (Sholokhov, 1959, vol. 2, p. 745). Clearly, the term often functioned or was coming to function as a catchall for brothers-in-law. But the particular and most frequent extension to the sister's husband is significant because it parallels with peculiar congruity the extension of *játrov'* to the brother's wife; in short, the spouse's brother was probably associated with the brother by the same logic that the spouse's sister was associated with the sister.

The final set of tertiary affines, the CAC variety, includes the parents of the spouse of son or daughter, called *svat* if male and *svát'ja* if female (Aksakov, 1848, pp. 116, 136; Sholokhov, 1959, vol. 1, pp. 83, 141; Dahl, 1882). The ritual union of such *svatý*, as well as of the spouses, was a function of the great weddings. Thereafter, a *svat* remained one's ally for ceremonial visiting, economic assistance, and the maintenance of the marriage. Though initially sealed through marriage, the relation was also a consanguineal one, given the expectancy of grandchildren carrying the blood of both contracting parties. Terms for such co-parents-in-law are particularly indicative of the linkage of either nuclear or extended families through fairly long-term affinal contracts, and of the importance of parents and household heads in arranging and preserving the marriages of their children. Terms for co-parent-in-law are found for similar reasons among the Cheyenne (Eggan, 1955, p. 46), the Huichol (Grimes and Grimes, 1962, p. 111), and several Yiddish-speaking groups.

The terms for *svat* and *svát'ja* were semireciprocal, as were the sibling terms, in the sense that sex was the only differentiating component; a man was *svat* to his *svat*. And both terms imply identity of generation and membership in distinct households. As already noted, the parents of a child's spouse are structurally parallel to step siblings, since in each case the relationship is through the marriage of a lineal relative at one generation remove from that of the two age-mates in question. Step siblings were addressed and often referred to as siblings; the special adjective, *svódnyj*, would only be used where the legal or social context called for exactitude. But the parallelism to *svat* relationships is

of sufficient interest to merit diagramming (Figure 8). By the nineteenth century the generic meaning of *svat* and *svat'ja*, as any adult affine in a household linked by marriage to that of the speaker, had become equally frequent; the behaviorally important son's wife's brother, for example, was called *svat* among the Cossaks. Thus the *svat* terms, like *svoják*, partly intersect with the general terms for male affine, *svójstvennik*, and for female affine, *svójstvennitsa*. Such general terms were especially useful for the tertiary affines that might be close to the speaker for particular reasons.

General and Collective Terms. All of one's affines were designated collectively by the term *svojstvó* (or, less frequently, *svatovstvó*). Any status such as *zjat'* was an instance of the more comprehensive *svojstvó*, which therefore defines the membership of terms in the affinal domain, in contrast with *rodstvó*, all of one's blood relatives, and, incidentally, with the differently stressed *svójstvo*, meaning "one's possessions." These terms, like *svokróv'*, *svojókor*, and *svojáchenitsa*, discussed above, are all related etymologically to the root *sv-*, *meaning* "own." The use of

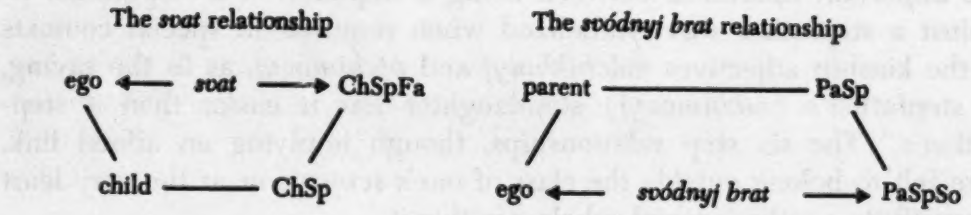


FIGURE 8.

svójstvennik, *svat*, and so forth for members of affinally linked households, irrespective of relative generation, symbolizes the unity of the household in a manner that closely resembles the terminological identifications in a unilinear society where all the members of a lineage linked to the speaker's lineage by marriage are conceived of as a group distinguished only by sex and where the same term is applied through three or more generations (Radcliffe-Brown, 1956, p. 70). To interpret Russian kinship, one should perhaps take what might be called a domocentric point of view, the point of view of an individual who sees family relationships from the standpoint of an extended household.

Step Relationships. The six terms for step relatives are not marked morphologically (four are distinct words and two are compounds involving a special adjective) nor is there a Russian term for the step class as such. In fact, minimal definitions can be phrased for all the step relatives simply by contrasting them with the primary relatives of whom they are partial analogues. Thus, *máchekha* or stepmother might be

described as the father's wife, since that would be enough to differentiate her from the mother, granted that the latter is also a father's wife. But actually *máchekha* could only denote a woman whom the father had married *after* his union with the speaker's own mother, and a stepfather was the secondary husband of one's mother in the same sense. The stepmother term, in addition, had connotations of hostility, jealousy, and misused authority that are a leading theme in Russian folklore. To treat step relatives simply as kinds of CA, AC, and CAC kinsmen would fly in the face of the critical if connotative patterns of authority and affection peculiar to these relationships. A step component is therefore assumed to segregate conceptually as a class all relationships resulting from a marriage of either parent after his or her marriage with the speaker's other parent, and also to include the children of the speaker's spouse by a previous marriage of that spouse. Within this class, the step siblings (CAC) were signified by combining the adjective *svódnyj* with the regular sibling terms. *Pásynok* and *pádcheritsa* (AC) were the son and daughter of one's spouse by the spouse's previous marriage. The important difference between being a stepchild of a stepmother as against a stepfather was symbolized when required in special contexts by the kinship adjectives *máchikhinyj* and *ótchimovyj*, as in the saying, "A stepfather's (*ótchimovyj*) stepdaughter has it easier than a stepmother's." The six step relationships, though implying an affinal link, were felt to belong outside the class of one's *svojstvó* or at the very least to constitute a rather special subclass within it.

Two terms force us to postulate a particular component of household membership, differentiating relatives who are members of the speaker's household from those who are not. The terms *vlazeníkha* or *vodvórka* (Sholokhov, 1959, vol. 1, p. 683), with several alternate forms, were used throughout peasant Russia for a married daughter who had remained in her household of birth. Correspondingly, *primák* or *vlazénets* referred to the son-in-law who had been taken in by the head of his wife's household. A *vodvórka* was thus a daughter, or a girl of the household, and her husband was a *zjat'*, with the major diagnostic exception that both persons were members of the girl's household, contrary to the prevailing rule. In other words, the *vodvórka* was a nuclear blood relative defined by a special marriage rule, and the *primák* was an affine who had been incorporated with the rights and status of a son. Such variations from the patrilocal norm might be motivated by the absence of a male heir in the girl's family, or they might be due to some personal factor, or to the unity of sisters, or to a great disparity in wealth, the husband entering the more affluent household of his wife. In a culture with "compromise kin groups" of ten to thirty members such uxorilocal couples were not

statistical rarities. The situation recalls the *ambil anak* alternative of Southeast Asia (Murdock, 1949, pp. 21, 45). On the other hand, although both terms implied affinal relationship, neither was, strictly speaking, a kinship term—one did not say, "She is my *vodvórka,*" at least not in the same way one said, "She is my *snokhá*" (Goodenough, 1956, p. 199). Rather, both terms were designations for a social status which, like the words for "widow" and "household head" intersected with one of the dimensions of the kinship domain. Examination of such peripheral sets can illuminate our understanding of the main problem. These two quasi-kinship terms expressed a conceptual distinction of wide significance elsewhere. They rank with the three pairs, *játrov'/svoják, svat/svát'ja,* and *zjat'/nevéstka,* as diagnostic indices of the Russian system.[11]

CONCLUSIONS

The cardinal aim of this paper has been to examine interrelationships between patterns of social behavior and patterns of terminology. I postulated that the terminology would significantly symbolize behavioral patterns and now conclude that it does so in the Russian instance. My main conclusion about Russian kinship itself is that a *muzhík,* a Cossak and, to a lesser extent, a member of the gentry oriented themselves and conceptualized relatives in terms of households and that many relatives were emotionally and juridically differentiated. This was intricately symbolized by the affinal terminology. To take two examples, the component of the "sex of linking relative" was related by implication to the household of birth and of postmarital identification, and the power of the household component was demonstrated by the way it overrode the component of generation. A pan-Russian approach has seemed justified because even the tertiary and regionally limited usages appear to have reflected the same underlying structure. In emphasis on residence, and in other respects, the Russian system resembles what W. H. R. Rivers long ago categorized as the "kindred" type of social organization, especially typical of northeast European peasantries, such as the Lithuanians (Rivers, 1914, pp. 78–81).

Comparative study would yield generalizations of greater power. The wide and fairly symmetrical affinal nomenclature of the Russians is of the type I have elsewhere called *bifurcate affinal,* marked by discriminations according to the sex of the linking spouse and of the linking primary relative (Friedrich, 1962). Bifurcate affinal terminology contrasts with merging affinal terminology, where in-laws are differentiated only by age and sex, as in English. Both the bifurcate and the merging affinal

types contrast with unilateral affinal types, such as the Proto-Indo-European, with terms only (or almost only) for affines through the husband. But the Russian contrasts perhaps most strikingly with the extreme types of Burma (Leach, 1962, pp. 29–42) and of South India (Dumont, 1953, pp. 34–39), which show no components of consanguinity and affinity, where, in other words, all the "affinal kin types" so discretely symbolized by the Russian are lumped with "consanguineal kin types," in accordance with the anticipation of cross-cousin marriage.

Russian social structure in a larger sense uniquely combined into a complex whole of functionally interrelated parts such diverse things as labor migration, the steam bath, household communalism, the rites and rules of Orthodoxy, and a rare type of exchange between father-in-law and daughter-in-law. But Russia also exemplified the less specific combination of bilateral descent and the preservation of widespread affinal ties between the members of extended, predominantly unilocal households. Such kindred systems are typologically rare, to judge from Murdock's (1957) world sample, but are found in such widely separated cultures as the Huichol (Grimes and Grimes, 1962) and the Coast Salish (Suttles, 1960), and may be significantly related to bifurcate affinal terminologies. Further, carefully controlled exploration of the same interrelationships should lead to unsuspected structural implications of hitherto neglected phenomena.[12]

Notes

[1] I stand indebted to R. Jakobson and F. Lounsbury for introducing me to componential analysis, and to G. P. Murdock, in whose course on social organization I first began my systematic study of East Slavic systems. I am particularly grateful to Robbins Burling, Nicholas Vakar, and above all, to Ward Goodenough, for their numerous criticisms of earlier drafts of this paper. Gratitude is expressed to the discussants at presentations to the Univerity of Michigan Linguistic Forum, the Chicago Anthropological Seminar, and the Chicago Linguistic Society. Andreas Koutsoudas made strategic suggestions. Finally, the research was supported in part by a grant from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare under the National Defense Education Act. For other pertinent discussions of semantic analysis not specifically referred to in the text of this paper, see Conklin (1962), Lounsbury (1956), Malinowski (1927), and Wallace and Atkins (1960).

[2] The present study was based on historical, literary, lexicographical and ethnological sources. Russian ethnographic investigations reached an unusual development due to the inspiration of the populist and Slavophil currents of the mid-nineteenth century. In addition, family relations constitute a primary framework for such prose works as Zlatovratskyj's *Ustoj* and, more notably, Aksakov's *A Family Chronicle*, which introduces forty-three kinship terms in the course of depicting a patriarchal extended family of rural gentry in eastern Russia. Leo Tolstoj is helpful for the aristocracy, and Sholokhov's epic, *The Quiet Don*, gives many insights into the family life of the (con-

servative) Don Cossaks early in this century. Most valuable, however, was the exhaustive four-volume dictionary of usage by V. Dahl, whose understanding of peasant life and depth of coverage far surpass both the field data and the published monographs and dictionaries of the overwhelming majority of twentieth-century ethnographers and anthropological linguists. For kinship terms Dahl provides varyingly full glosses, alternates, synonyms (often with some indication of their frequency and currency), reciprocals, regionalisms, facts of usage, proverbs, and sometimes full formulas that place the term in its immediate set; thus, *zolóvka* (HuSi) is to *svojáchenitsa* (WiSi) as *déver'* (HuBr) is to *shúrin* (WiBr). He also includes numerous riddles that reflect not only the Russian penchant for riddling, but a peculiar delight in the logic of kinship relations. Dahl of course lacked the model of functionally articulated ethnography that we owe mainly to Malinowski, but his incisive and meticulous item-inventory comprehensiveness still inspires respect. Since his material was probably collected from adult or older informants, I assume that the present paper refers primarily to the everyday, adult conversation in the Great Russian households between 1800 and 1850, although most of the patterns inferred probably obtained as far back as 1700 and as far ahead as 1900.

[3] A total of 305 terms of relationship were counted in Dahl's great work, so that even if we discount rare derivations, limited regionalisms, partially synonymous diminutives, and so forth, it would seem unrealistic to assume that the peasant was using less than 150 or that he could understand less than 250. The 101 regularly named semantic slots refer to over 400 kin types (counting natural brothers, half brothers, and so forth), at least a quarter of which would presumably be represented by individuals in one's surrounding social environment. About 65 of the 101 were core terms that all Russians would be hearing and using without hesitation; 29 of the 31 affinal terms listed in this paper fall into the core category. The quantitative and qualitative intricacies of Russian kinship suggest interesting questions for the psychology of learning.

[4] My transliteration of Russian is fairly self-explanatory. Otherwise, *kh* stands for a letter that corresponds to a voiceless, dorsovelar spirant, *j* is similarly related to a front semivowel (structurally a consonant), and for the first element of soft vowels, *y* to a high, central, unrounded vowel, and ' for palatalization after a consonant. *E* initially stands for a hard front midvowel, but elsewhere for a soft midvowel.

[5] The large, prominent stove of the East Slavic area goes back without interruption for over four thousand years. It is perhaps significant that the Russian words for stove (*pech'*), room (*kómnata*), family (*sem'já*), peasant house (*izbá*), village (*derévnja*), commune (*óbshchina*), country (*straná*), land (*zemljá*), steppe (*step'*), native or motherland (*ródina*), and Russia (*Rus'*, *Rossíja*), are every one of them grammatically feminine (as against masculine and neuter). On the other hand, the extraordinary homonym, *mir*, denoting equally village commune, world/universe, and peace, was grammatically masculine.

[6] This part of the analysis owes a debt to Lévi-Strauss, Fortes, and Leach.

[7] I am indebted to Calvert Cottrell for this point.

[8] Marked patriarchy also was found among many Finnic groups and the Tatars along the Volga, with whom the Russians intermarried and next to whom they had been living for centuries.

[9] I am indebted to Dr. Agnes Niyekawa for this point.

[10] Diachronically, the meaning of *játrov'* was husband's brother's wife in the antecedent forms of Old Russian, Proto-Slavic, and Proto-Indo-European (Friedrich, 1962); the secondary denotations discussed below probably developed after 1700. The *játrov'/svoják* pair is found in several bilateral, unilocal societies, irrespective of

whether they are patrilocal or, like the Huichol, matrilocal. This terminological symmetry parallels the symmetry of "bifurcate merging" nomenclatures, studied by Murdock among others (Murdock, 1947), in which a parent is grouped with his or her sibling of the same sex—a mother with her sisters, and so forth. Bifurcate merging appears to occur in unilineal societies irrespective of whether the rule of descent is matrilineal or patrilineal (Murdock, 1949, pp. 164–165). The congruence between bifurcate merging in unilineal societies, and the *játrov'/svoják* grouping in bilateral, unilocal ones, suggests a factor more specific, and perhaps more powerful than "sibling solidarity" (Radcliffe-Brown, 1956, pp. 64–68), that might tentatively be called "ortho-sibling solidarity."

[11] By 1963, most young, urban Russians, though with peasant parents, grandparents, or great-grandparents, had forgotten the specific meanings of *svat, svát'ja,* had altogether lost *játrov',* were using *svoják* for most close male affines, were using purely descriptive terms for all siblings-in-law, and were limiting the reference of *zjat'* and *nevéstka* to children-in-law.

[12] Extended households and communalistic property relations also characterized the Serbian villagers of the last century, but *not* the prevailingly neolocal and economically individualistic Ukrainians.

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